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W. M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

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VOL. XX. NO. 9.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1850.

WHOLE NO. 999.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Pennsylvanian.
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION
PARTY.

The following is the name attached to the Petition, now at 31 North Fifth street, in this city, published in our yesterday's paper, calling for a peaceful dissolution of the Union? We give the petition and the names. Very many have supposed that this movement was a mere farce, and that there would be none base enough to dislodge their manhood by affixing their names to such a paper. But the signatures given below are genuine, and number, we believe, both white and black persons. A petition to abolish the Christian Religion, or to overthrow the institution of matrimony, would not be less infamous than an appeal in favor of the dissolution of our heaven-protected Union. We presume each of the persons represented by these names, is ready to give plenty of reasons why the Union should be broken up; and doubtless each has a sort of interest in the success of the shameless petition. At all events, they have secured to themselves an immortality of ignominy. The curses of an indignant people will ring in their ears, while living, and execute their memory when dead. More will point them out to us, who more fortunate than millions of others happy under the blessed institutions of our country, and protected by our laws—have openly raised their hands to destroy a fabric unequalled in the history of the human race. There is no excuse for such infamy. The act is not the act of fanaticism, but of treason; and the names of these *farricades*, and their petition, should be enclosed in black, wherever they are held up before the people:

A BRIEF OF WASHINGTON. A black fellow named Douglass appears to be a controlling spirit amongst the abolitionists of the North. He attends all abolition conventions, and lectures against slavery and the Union. At a recent meeting in the State of New York, he inveighed bitterly against the Union; pronounced it a Union of the white people of this country to trample the negroes, and demanded that it shall be dissolved. In view of the oppression of this Union, said he, "I welcome the bolt, whether from the North or the South, from heaven or from hell, which shall rend this Union in pieces. Talk to me, continued he, 'of the love of liberty of your Washington, Jeffersons, Henrys—they were strangers to any just idea of liberty. I wish to destroy the Union, and to do it in a direct way. And citizens of the United States—men whose fathers may have fought by the side of Washington for the liberty of their country—could sit and contentedly listen to, if they did not applaud, this lecture from a fugitive slave—this denunciation of the Father of their Country, and the great men who saved the country in its hour of trial. It would no more gratify to this *idle* orator, and his more despicable auditors and assistants, to have the Union dissolved by force, and to set a civil war; but the councils of the nation cannot be controlled by such fanatics and desperadoes. It is humiliating to see between the white and the negro race in the work of treason. It is evident that the feeling of hostility entertained by Douglass against the whites is not confined to slaveholders. He hates the whole white population, and intimates that he would rejoice to perish and the termination of all who, as far as he is concerned, are slaves—and, if possible, with an infliction right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

You are right, Mr. Clipper; and you may rest assured that New Yorkers will be on the look-out for this scoundrel.

From the Philadelphia Bulletin.

FANATICISM AND FOLLY.

Most of our readers have read and admired, we presume, the fine lines by Professor Longfellow on the Federal Union, beginning "Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State." It is said that these verses, alike so full in sentiment and so elegant in style, have annoyed the ire of William Lloyd Garrison and his pack of fellow *fanatics*, so that he recited a *convention* held by them at Faneuil Hall, these crazy theorists thought it necessary to denounce the poet. Accordingly, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Garrison, and passed, the Boston papers say, "with much applause, mingled with hisses." This resolution was intended to be imposing, but it has only proved ridiculous. While the Union continues to shed so many blessings upon us, while it prevents a long series of wars between the three sections into which the confederacy would separate, while it ensures an undivided attention to the progress of art and peace and civilization, over almost the entire continent, allowing the human race to develop itself under circumstances more favorable than ever before were known, to be idle and profligate for any man, or set of men, to denounce the Union as *evil*, as rotten to its core with sin, as destined to perish and the termination of all who, as far as they were concerned, are slaves.

III. The next most sacred of all rights, that of freedom of speech and of the press, without which there can be no true liberty under any form of government, has been practically denied, in a large portion of this country, and to thousands of its most distinguished inhabitants. It is a notorious fact, that there are but few places south of Mason and Dixon's line, where the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal, and endowed with an inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," is not only unapplied, but even hypocritically applied without imminent personal hazard.

IV. The Union, between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, and the alleged necessity of its perpetuation, is made the pretext for exorbitant and unjust demands on the part of the former, and the most degrading concessions and humiliations self-abasement on the part of the latter, begetting a spirit on the one hand of overbearing tyranny, and on the other of slyish and grovelling submission—both alike inconsistent with our theory of republican equality, at variance with the best interests of a majority of the people, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions throughout the world.

V. The Compromises of the Federal Constitution are felt to be especially burdensome, because by them the people of the North are obliged: 1st, to aid the slaveholder, directly or indirectly, in recapturing his fugitive slaves; 2d, to assist, if in the judgment of the Executive it should ever become necessary, to repress by any uprising on the part of the slaves for their liberty; and 3d, to concede to the slaveholders extraordinary political power, in the privilege of representing three-fifths of their slaves in the Electoral College and in Congress—thus furnishing him at the same moment the motives and ability to perpetuate his system. By these compromises, people of the North are involved as partners in the support of Slavery, and made to share with the South in all the evils and responsibilities of its continuance.

To these, a constituting grievances no longer tolerable, the undersigned invite the attention of your honorable body, and respectfully ask that, if in your judgment there be no other speedy means for their redress, you will take immediate measures for the peaceful dissolution of the Union.



Selections.

LETTER
To the Hon. William J. Nelson, Member of the House of Representatives.

NEW YORK, 11th Feb., 1850.

MY DEAR SIR:—As one of your immediate constituents, permit me to express to you my views on the resolutions lately submitted to the Senate by Mr. Clay. They are skilfully drawn, and their true import seems to me to be generally misunderstood, and, in many instances, intentionally misrepresented.

Various considerations combine to render these resolutions acceptable to that class of our Northern politicians who are anxious to be popular at home,

without forfeiting their share of the patronage which is dispensed at Washington by the Slave Power.

The resolutions are eight in number, and I will exercise?

Upon what does Mr. Clay rest his strange, unnatural opinion? Almost exclusively on the exclusion of slavery from the California Constitution. He does not pretend that this exclusion was owing to the unfitness of the soil and climate for slave labor.

We all know that the unexpected discovery of gold suddenly collected in California a large Northern population, naturally averse to slavery, and jealous of the competition of slave labor in digging gold.

But does gold exist in Deserts or New Mexico, or is there a large Northern population in California, south of 36 deg. 30 min. Is it not logical to infer that slavery is not likely to be introduced into these territories, even with the sanction of Congress, because, under totally different circumstances, it has been excluded from California. New Mexico is separated by an imaginary line from Texas, and about half of it is claimed by that slave State. Is it likely that Texan slaveholders will not cross the line with their property, or occupy territory they claim as their own?

The settlers in Deseret have formed a Constitution virtually allowing slavery by not prohibiting it. The gold diggers in California are concentrated far north of 36 deg. 30 min.; the city of San Francisco is also north of that line, while south of it is a large area, where there is little to obstruct the introduction of slavery. Under these circumstances, there are probably very few men in Congress who would dare, on their oaths, to affirm the opinion expressed by Mr. Clay. That opinion is at best a calculation of *chance*; a calculation on which no man would hazard a thousand dollars; yet this miserable calculation is offered to the North as a compensation for the surrender of all the political and moral blessings which the Proviso would secure.

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100,000,* shall be at liberty, for their own aggrandizement, to blight with the curse of slavery our vast possessions south of 36° 30' min., and whatever portion of Mexico it shall hereafter be found convenient to seize. Thus at a time when cruelty and oppression are elsewhere giving way before the increasing intelligence and moralism of the age, we, the Model Republic, are to be the instruments of extending over illimitable regions now free, a despotism more accustomed than any other known throughout the civilized world—a despotism that not only enslaves the body, but crushes the intellect through which man is enabled to distinguish good from evil—a despotism that annihilates all rights, sets at naught all the affections of the heart, and converts a being made in the image of God into a soulless machine. Tell me not of exceptions—of some lucky chisel, like Mr. Clay's negro referred to in his speech, who, in his master's well stored kitchen, hugs his chain, laughs and grows fat. He is but a vendible commodity, and to-morrow's sun may behold him toiling under the lash, his wife given to another, and his children with pigs and mules sold at auction to the highest bidder. Tell me not of exceptions—the kind owner, who may at many moments be exchanged by death or debts, for the hardened, remorseless task-master, and the law sanctions every villainy perpetrated upon the slave.† No, my dear sir, I cannot give my consent, and I hope it will not be given for me by my representative, to curse a vast empire with such an institution, and to doom unnumbered millions to its unutterable abominations, even to save our Southern brethren from the sin and folly of founding a new Republic! upon the denial of human rights, and of rendering themselves a by-word, a proverb and a reproach among all the nations of the earth. I value the favor of my God and the salvation of my soul too much to take part or lot in such great wickedness. Most fully do I agree with Mr. Clay, that Congress has no more constitutional authority over slavery in the Island of Cuba; and most fully do I agree with the admission in his speech, but not to be found in his resolutions, of the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the conquered territories. Hence in my opinion, the refusal to exercise this right, even to preserve the Union, would be cause in the sight of God and man. I entertain no apprehension of the severance of the Union, for this cause, but should the few slaveholders, and the vast multitude of southern people, who have no interest in slavery, in their madness separate from us, upon them will rest the sin, and upon them and their children will fall its punishment. Let us do what God commands, and leave to Him the consequences.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM JAY.

* A late census in Kentucky reveals the fact, that the slaveholders in that State own on an average 22 slaves. Should this average be applied to the whole slave region, the number of masters, according to the census of 1840, cannot exceed 117,000!

+ Our doughs are always complaining that their employers are slanders at the North. Let the emigrants speak for themselves. In *Der. Reports*, (North Carolina) p. 263, 1829, we find the case of *The State ex. Moan*. The defendant attempted to flog a woman slave whom he hired; she retreated; he ordered her to come to him, but she continuing to retreat, he seized her gun, fired at and wounded her. For this he was indicted. The Court held that he who hires a slave is, for the time being, invested with all the powers of the ownership to enforce obedience, and that the indictment could not be sustained. Said Justice, "The power of the master to make his slave subject to corporal punishment is the submission of the slave perfect. I most sincerely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can; and as a principle of moral right, every man in his retirement must repudiate it. But in the actual state of things, it must be—so there is no remedy. This displease belongs to slavery." Verily we are the people to lecture Austria.

REPORT ON SLAVERY.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was referred so much of the Governor's address as related to the exclusion of Negro slavery from the newly acquired territory of the United States; also, certain resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio, relative to the acquisition and control of foreign territory by the Legislature of Virginia, upon the subject of fugitive slaves; also, certain resolutions of the Legislature of Connecticut, upon the subject of fugitive slaves; also, certain resolutions of the Legislature of Missouri, upon the subject of slavery; also, certain resolutions concerning slavery, introduced into the House of Representatives, by Mr. Wilson, of Natick, January 11, 1850; also, an order on the subject of instructing our Senators to vote against the compromise resolutions recently presented to the Senate, dated February 4, 1850, beg leave to present the following

REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS:

In considering the subject submitted to them, your committee did not deem it necessary to confine their conclusions by elaborate argument or extensive historical research. The rights and duties of the States of this Union, growing out of the unhappy fact of slavery, are simple and obvious, resting upon acknowledged principles of law and government, and easily comprehended by every mind, not warped by sophistry or muddled by fanaticism.

It is well known that the Constitution of the United States embodies certain compromises upon the subject of slavery. It was believed by the eminent men who framed it, and urged its acceptance upon the people, that without these compromises it never could have been adopted; and it was also believed by them, that the union of the states under the Constitution was well worth the price of these concessions. There is no doubt that these views of the framers of the Constitution have always been, and are now, sustained by an immense majority of the people of the United States, who have been indebted, under Heaven for their unexampled growth and prosperity, to the wise provisions of that inestimable instrument.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, there were six slaveholding states, and seven free states; though in some of these latter, slavery was recognized as a legal institution. Although, at that period, there was less sensibility to the wrongs and sufferings of humanity than there is at present, yet no one was then found so perverse in opinion, or so wanting in natural feeling, as to say one word in its defense. It was lamented by all as a deplorable evil, and by none more energetically and unequivocally, than by the leaders of public opinion, in what are now the slaveholding states.

Under the influence of liberal institutions, the whole country has made an enormous progress in wealth and competency, and with the general growth of the country, there has been a corresponding increase in the numbers of that unhappy class, in whom alone our increasing wealth and power can awaken no emotions of pride and satisfaction. The area of slavery has been gradually extended by the admission of new slaveholding states, under circumstances too familiar to those who are acquainted with the history of the country, to be here recapitulated. Of the thirty states which now form our confederacy, fifteen are free states and fifteen are slaveholding states. Of these, the former contain an aggregate of population considerably superior to that of the latter; and we are fairly entitled to say, that no argument in favor of slavery can be drawn from the comparative condition of the North and the South, in material civilization, and moral and mental cultivation.

Within a recent period, we have acquired, by treaty with Mexico, the territories of New Mexico and California, comprising a region of more than five hundred thousand square miles, equal in extent to ten or twelve states of the size of New York. The future destiny of this territory throws a responsibility upon the whole country, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will not shrink from the performance of a duty which it imposes.

Since the adoption of the Constitution, important changes have also taken place in the general sentiments of the civilized world, upon the subject of slavery. The progress of Christianity, the spread of knowledge, the increase of benevolent and philanthropic feeling, and the diffusion of liberal principles, have created throughout Christendom a public opinion strongly adverse to the existence of slavery, which is constantly expressing itself in the language of warning, encouragement, expectation and rebuke. To the formation of this general sentiment, the pulpit has lent its voice of authority, and the press its irresistible influence. Eloquence has swelled it by all its tones of power and persuasion, and poetry has commended it by the magic of its numbers. To this widely diffused public opinion we could not be insensible if we would, and would not be if we could,

That of late years there has been among the free states, a growing sensibility to the wrongs and evils of slavery, is a fact which no one can deny, and which no right-minded and right-hearted person will regret.

This opposition to slavery is so strongly felt at the North, that it has formed a class or party of men, not numerous, but considerable from their zeal, their eloquence, and their courage, who openly assail the Constitution of the United States, on account of the compromises which it contains, and candidly renounce their allegiance to the Union, because of the protection which it gives to slavery. Such opinions, it need hardly say, can find no echo in the Legislature of Massachusetts, as no member could enter into them without having committed perjury, and we are therefore not called upon to examine into, or controvert them.

On the other hand, there have been found a few persons at the South, who have had the hardihood to avow that slavery is in itself a commendable institution, essential to the ideal excellence of a republican form of government, and in which the happiness and improvement of the African race are best to be secured and maintained. We believe that these monstrous opinions are not generally entertained, even by slaveholders themselves. We cannot think that even slavery has so far confounded the essential distinctions between right and wrong, and done such violence alike to reason and human nature, that we do believe that there is a class of slaveholders at the South, and probably an increasing class, who alarm the growing agitation of the subjects at the North, and stung by the irritating language in which it is so often discussed, really do fear that their rights and interests would be safer if the Union were dissolved, and they were left to protect their property in their own way, without interference. Hence in my opinion, the refusal to exercise this right, even to preserve the Union, would be cause in the sight of God and man. I entertain no apprehension of the severance of the Union, for this cause, but should the few slaveholders, and the vast multitude of southern people, who have no interest in slavery, in their madness separate from us, upon them will rest the sin, and upon them and their children will fall its punishment. Let us do what God commands, and leave to Him the consequences.

These two extremes of opinion on the subject of slavery find their organs of expression in the press and the political and deliberative assemblies of the country. While we decry and lament the violent language of those persons at the North, whose zeal against slavery is so far without discretion as to lead them to favor so far as to be doing them injustice, if we did not recognize a distinction between them and the pro-slavery zealots at the South, who defend the principle of slavery, demand its extension, and look forward to its perpetual existence, with complacency and satisfaction. The former are fairly entitled to such measure of respect as may be claimed by men who are fearlessly and devotedly pursuing a noble object, but not wisely, not gently, not patiently, and therefore, not successfully. But a man zealous for slavery, in the abstract, who wishes to extend it where it does not exist, and to perpetuate it where it does exist, is a moral monster, whose very existence gives stronger testimony against the institution, than argument or eloquence can supply.

Now we hold, that under our institutions, a man is lawfully entitled to write or speak against the government of the country under which he lives. He has a legal right, for instance, to argue in favor of monarchy, an established church, and an hereditary nobility, and against republican institutions in general. So he has a right to say that the Constitution of the United States is all wrong, and that it ought to be set aside, and a better one substituted in its place. We hold, that to this right of discussion, there is no limit short of a breach of the peace, or an overt act of treason.

But, on the other hand, we are bound to make an election. We must accept the whole of the Constitution or none of it. We have no right to take its advantages and reject its inconveniences. We have no right to assent to so much as we approve, and reject the rest. We have no right to say that a particular provision is void, simply because we do not like it.

The Legislature of Massachusetts gives its adherence to the Constitution of the United States, and to the whole of it. We represent a law-abiding and order-loving community. We hold this to be no reproach, but an honor. We reverence the framers of the Constitution. We value and cherish the instrument itself, and the Union which it has maintained, and *have exhibited in the right when the Constitution secures to us, as a member of this Union.*

The provisions of the Constitution on the subject of slavery are to be construed fairly, but strictly, because they are opposed to personal liberty and to natural right. Especially no inference in favor of slavery can be drawn from the silence of the Constitution. These principles of interpretation are undeniable, and will not be questioned by any intelligent jurist, even at the South.

The opinions of the people of Massachusetts, in their Legislative capacity, upon the subject of slavery, are well known and easily understood. And it may be asked, why they are again proclaimed. To this we reply, that our attention has been called to the subject, not only by the address of His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth, whose suggestions deserve and will receive our most respectful consideration, but because we believe, that in view of the destiny of the newly acquired territory of the United States, a crisis is approaching, which requires a mutual understanding and co-operation among the friends of law, liberty, order and progress, throughout the whole country.

There are many points of view from which the subject of slavery may be contemplated. It has its religious, its moral, its social and economical aspects. These may be safely left to the various forms and modes of expression which the press, the pulpit, and the popular assembly supply. But we have to deal with it solely in its political relations. We are not a debating society or an anti-slavery convention. Our business is not to create public opinion, but to give it direction and expression. We are sent here to make laws for the State of Massachusetts, and incidentally, to express the sense of Massachusetts upon points of national interest, when it can be done with propriety and effect.

In the performance of this duty, as of all legislative duties, it becomes us to act with firmness, temperance and discretion. We are not to take counsel of our passions, but of our reason and judgment. Even the sympathies and the sensibilities, though they may supply motive and impulse, are unsafe guides and counsellors in the conduct of affairs. We repudiate all extravagance, exaggeration and overstatement on this subject, and all other subjects. We will not stoop to the language of menace or reproach. We do not believe 'that any good, or even ill, will, come from the crimination or reprobation in which men so readily fall, when they discuss this question. We do not believe that men are made better by rousing their passions, or that a state of constant trepidation is a safe method of virtue or wisdom. We leave vehement denunciation to those who think such exhibitions seemly and profitable; who either believe that they 'do well to be angry'; or else for political ends, counterfeit a passion which they do not feel. In our opinion, the subject of slavery, from the exciting nature of the topics it necessarily involves, peculiarly requires the application of wisdom, discretion and forbearance.

Entertaining these views, your committee would express their entire assent to the opinions of their Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth, upon the introduction of Negro Slavery into the territories of the Union which are now free. We view with the strongest reprobation, those men who have so far degenerated from the spirit of their fathers, as to maintain that the existence of slavery is in itself a good, to be perpetuated and extended; and, on the other hand, we have no sympathy with the party that denies the virtue of patriotism and rejects the Constitution of our country. We abide by the letter and spirit of that instrument. The letter forbids us from interposing directly with a domestic institution, sanctioned by the laws of States whose jurisdiction within their own limits is supreme and exclusive, and for the evil consequences of which we are in no wise responsible, while the spirit should unite all parties in preventing its extension one inch beyond its existing limits.

We entertain no doubt of the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the territory of the United States which is now free, and we also entertain no doubt that they ought to exercise that power. The argument of the slaveholders that to shut out them and their property from a region acquired by the common blood and treasure of the whole country, would be unequal, oppressive, and unjust, is answered by a simple statement of the legal character of slavery, which owes its existence to positive municipal law, is opposed to natural right, and not recognized by the common law. The argument involves a begging of the question as to the nature of property in slaves. It takes it for granted that the slaveholder has the same universal and unquestionable

right to his slave that he has to his horse or his ox. This we deny. We admit that within certain local limits, he has the same right. But this is a peculiar and exceptional case. We are now asked to enlarge the exception. But we prefer to leave the rule as it is.

But we are told that the exclusion of slavery from these territories will be followed by a dissolution of the Union, and Massachusetts and the other free States are warned to recede from the ground which they have taken on the subject, in view of the consequences which may ensue if they adhere to it.

In reply to this suggestion, we say in the first place, that we doubt the fact. We believe that in any event the Union will be maintained. We believe that the fanatics of the North and the fanatics of the South, who, standing at the opposite pole of opinion on this subject, agree in thinking that the objects they aim at would be best accomplished by a dissolution of the Union, are not sustained by anything approaching to a majority in either section of the country. We believe, further, that many of those who are most loud and flagrant in the agitation of this subject, are encouraged by a secret consciousness of this fact, and that they themselves would be among the last to take the responsibility of dissolving the Union, were it in their power to do so. Discontented is a clamorous and silent class, neither writing paragraphs nor making speeches, but who would act with vigor and proneness if necessary. We think that the South, if left to themselves, would submit to the will of the majority on this subject, as other subjects of general interest, but we also have little doubt that it is possible, by a course of unwise and exacerbating agitation, to goad them into measures as disastrous to themselves as to us.

* Therefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scoffers that rule this people; Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves: Therefore thus saith the Lord, God, Judge will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hall shall sweep away the hidden places, and the waters shall overflow the hidden deeps. And I ANNOINTED, AND YOUR COVENANT WITH DEATH SHALL BE ANNULLED, AND YOUR AGREEMENT WITH HELL SHALL NOT STAND. When the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it.

Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces, Take up every man his shield, and come to me: who want; why should we patronize slave-drivers? We can raise wool, flax, tea, anything, and all we want. How can we put down slavery? By purchasing the products of slavery? No! We must stop the slaveholders' market. We can clothe our people without their cotton. He hoped the Convention would adopt a resolution not to buy them. As soon as this was done by our Free Soil friends, slavery would die.

He compares this omission to the Southern expatriation of anti-slavery sentiments from books in circulation in that section of the country, and feels that it calls for special exploitation and reproval! Now this outcry is simply ludicrous. It is true that we omitted the paragraph, quoted above, together with the narrative of Marshall's life, but not because we were unwilling or afraid (!) to let our readers see it, (as friend Rhoads seems to think,) but because it was not our design to give the proceedings in full, for lack of room, being sorely tried by the pressure of other interesting and, at this crisis, yet more important matter; and therefore we published only a condensed account of the organization and action of the Convention during the first day—not having, up to this hour, found space for anything that was said or done on the two succeeding days. This Samuel Rhoads knows; and hence his complaint seems to arise from a captious or querulous spirit, or it may be the product of enormous self-conceit. If we had undertaken to give the proceedings entire, or if we had published the outline of Marshall's history, and suppressed what he said respecting slave grown produce, then indeed such a letter as our friend has written might have seemed warranted; but we did no such thing. Mr. Marshall hoped the Convention would adopt a resolution not to buy Southern cotton, sugar, &c. But no such resolution was proposed—of course, none adopted. Why does friend Rhoads charge the Convention with having dodged the question, and suppressed the most material point in controversy (as he thinks) with the Slave Power?

We hold ourselves bound to respect the conscientious scruples of every man, whether we regard those scruples as well-founded or not; and we think we shall never voluntarily enter into controversy with any one whose conscience will not permit him to partake of the produce of slave labor. The question has lost its importance with us; though (as friend Rhoads is careful to remind us) we once regarded it in a different light. We are convinced that its discussion is a waste of time and talent, that no practical benefit can arise out of it to the slave, and therefore we have declined being drawn into it, as well as into other questions of doubtful disposition. If abstinen-

ce from slave productions is a moral duty, we have yet to see the individual who reduces it to practice; and though this universal implication in their use releases no man from what is morally obligatory, and is no excuse in itself, (we do not offer it as such,) yet it shows that we have teachers without exemplars; and such teachers, while we differ from them fundamentally, address our moral sense in vain. He who denounces slaveholding as a crime, and yet retains or supports it, is a hypocrite and a scoundrel. To him who holds that slavery is under all circumstances sinful, and yet appears in regiments, or takes an oath to sustain the war system; addresses himself in vain to the conscience of the slaveholder or the warrior. It is equally as futile to reprobate the use of slave grown produce as a *malum in se*, and then take up at it at first or second hand. Friend Rhoads is the editor of a free journal, yet the material of his paper is slave grown cotton. He begins the theoretical advocacy of his cause by a practical denial of its fundamental principle; and while advocating purity, is endeavoring to extend the circulation of that which has the taint of moral leprosy about it. The teacher may be very sincere, but is lacking around its standard—moral purity.

It was quite true, as stated by Mr. Scoble, that since the reduction of the duties on sugar, the foreign slave trade had been doubled; but he denied altogether, that increase in the slave trade was owing to the reduction of those duties. (See *heret.*) He did this on the authority of a statistical table he had before him, which showed that not only was we had a very high duty on foreign sugar, but when we prohibited it altogether, the slave trade was as great as it was at the present time. (See *heret.*) From 1835 to 1840, when the duty on foreign sugar was 63¢ per ewt, the slave trade was said to amount to 150,000 per year; so that during these five years, when we did not import an ounce of Brazilian sugar, the slave trade was twice as great as it is now. (See *heret.*) With this fact before the statement of Mr. Scoble. He believed with Mr. Curtis that the right way to meet an evil was by legislation, and not by fiscal restrictions, and he believed a single effect had been produced in the United States by the example which this country had set them. He insisted for the day when, as the result of moral improvements alone, slavery would be abolished, not only in North America, but in Brazil and Cuba also. (See *heret.*) He did not say that in this he denied the right of the slave to be a slave, but he denied the right of the master to own a slave.

It is evident that he would prohibit the introduction into our markets of all slave-grown produce; so far as he could do it. He would prohibit the production of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire—(see *heret.*) for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it, he would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown produce into England, as well as into Scotland. He would prohibit the million of pounds of cotton imported here, and that of all manufacturers and operatives in Lancashire, as well as in Scotland, and for so far as he could do it

THE WORCESTER COUNTY-SOUTH-A. S. SOCIETY

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so as to be held
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slavery, and
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from it.

The President, Effingham L. Capron, took the chair. Samuel May, Jr., was appointed Secretary pro tem.

On motion, committees on business and on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year were nominated by the Chair.

Samuel May, Jr., offered the following resolution with regard to the recent action in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the anti-slavery petition, and the noble stand then and there taken by Mr. Tolman, one of the Representatives from Worcester:

Resolved, That we would make respectful and grateful mention of the man who recently stood, alone and alone, in the Legislature of this State, and uttered his solitary protest against the tyrannical act by which the right of petition was virtually denied to the anti-slavery men and women of the State. We would render the honor due to him, who could not be induced, by numbers nor example, to swerve from duty, and we would express our confident belief that, when many now proud and prominent names are forgotten, Massachusetts will cherish as among her best and most abiding treasures, the memory of such men as ALBERT TOLMAN, of Worcester.

He also offered the following resolutions, from the business committee:

Resolved, That to make any further compromises with Slavery and the Slave Power, will be to add the sin of wickedness and infamy to the already overburdened load of this nation's guilt and shame; and that the time has fully come, when all proposals for compromise with Slavery, no matter from what quarter they come, should meet from the North but one answer, that of indignant and honest rejection.

Resolved, That the plan of Henry Clay, instead of being a compromise with slavery, contemplates a total surrender of every principle of justice and right to the slaveholders' demands;—that to admit California with double boundaries, plainly means with such boundaries as suit slavery;—that to leave the vast territory of New Mexico, without any direct legislation for or against slavery, will be to leave the door open wide for the entrance of the slaveholder into that territory with his human property, and thereby in effect to establish slavery there;—and that to enact more stringent laws for the surrender of the fugitive slave, and for the protection of the slave-trade, as Henry Clay's plan proposes, will argue a depth of depravity of a system of such unutterable wrongs and woes as is hardly conceivable that even this oppressing country can have reached.

Resolved, That a proposition so black and atrocious as this so-called compromise could have been framed only by a man whose whole life has been devoted to ingenious contrivances for making the wrong appear right, and for reconciling the American mind and conscience to familiarity with tyrannical and dastardly acts; and we condemn and denounce it and its author as alike false and hostile to justice, to man and to God.

Resolved, That at last, this nation must see that concession to the Slave Power is the great and indispensable condition of the continuance of this Union;—in other words, that its continuance depends wholly and solely upon the readiness of the American people to reject the laws of God, and to array themselves against their sovereignty and government;—and therefore that the Dissolution of this Union is demanded by every principle of rectitude, of holiness, and of the love of God, as well as by every native of consistency and honor.

Resolved, That the American Churches, which, (with such few and rare exceptions,) have all along strayed themselves on the side of the slave's oppressors, and in hate and persecution of the slave's advocates and friends, are thereby proved to be not Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, but his worst, because his most specious, enemies.

Parker Pillsbury, from the same committee, offered the following:

Resolved, That all voters under the Constitution of the United States, whether in the Whig, Democratic, Free Soil, or any other political party, acknowledging allegiance to the government, must of necessity pledge themselves to their slaveholding confederacy and to one another.

1. That they will sustain the right to hold property in man, by allowing slaveholders political power in proportion to the number of their slaves.

2. That they will never secede nor defend the runaway slaves from the pursuing masters.

3. That in case of insurrection among the slaves, they will defend the oppressor against the oppressed, the robber and rasher against their victims.

4. That they will never exert their political power to abolish slavery in the States.

5. That they will hold all the slaves responsible to their government, while they allow them no protection, either in their rights or persons.

6. That they will sanction and defend violations of the rights of property, liberty and life by slaveholders, which they will punish with the dungeon or death, when committed by non-slaveholders.

7. That they will regard as crimes worthy of death in slaves, what, in their owners, they honor and applaud as the highest virtue.

8. That while the testimony of the slave shall never be admitted against the master, they will give full credit to the testimony of the master against the slave.

9. That they will sanction, and help execute, every slave law in every slave State.

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THE REPORT WAS ACCEPTED, AND THE PERSONS THEREIN NAMED ELECTED.

The meeting was addressed by Samuel May, Jr., Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, John C. Wyman, Wm. B. Earle, Perrin Bliss, Mr. Carter of Worcester, (who spoke in defense of the Free Soil party,) and Rev. Warren Burton. Mr. Burton expressed, in a most earnest manner, his sympathy with the anti-slavery men and women there present, and the growing interest he felt in the cause, and in their views of the cause. Lucy Stone made earnest and eloquent addresses.

Mr. Pillsbury urged the vital necessity of an earnest, manly, independent, individual character. He laid open, in a very clear manner, the immorality and guilt of supporting the U. S. Constitution and government, whether that support be given by Whig, Democrat, Free Soiler, or any one else.

The resolution relating to Mr. Tolman was adopted unanimously, and enthusiastically responded to by the meeting.

The other resolutions were also adopted, and the Society adjourned sine die.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., Secretary pro tem.

FATHER MATHEW — HENRY CLAY.

CINCINNATI, Feb. 15, 1850.

DEAR GARRISON :

Enclosed is a correspondence between Father Mathew and Father Spratt, in 1848. I see by the papers that Father Mathew is enjoying the hospitality of slaveholders and slave-breeders, and being waited on by slaves; and not one word does he speak condemnatory of the wrongs that are done around him. He is pledged to silence; he is fawning upon the master, and doing what in him lies to make that which is evil seem good, and to give respectability to the most cruel and polluted of earth's oppressors. He is also saying to his countrymen, 'Identify yourselves with the slaveholders, and sustain their sinking cause.' Does he deserve the character of a philanthropist? If he be witness, he would rather the human race should all go down to a drunkard's grave, than to have them saved contrary to the wishes of the priesthood. He would never speak another word for temperance, were he forbidden to do so by the head of his order at Rome. With him, the priesthood is first, humanity afterwards. If you do indeed expedite a copy of these Resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

It was moved that the Resolutions be laid on the table, and the ayes and nays called for: 18 voted in the affirmative, and 41 in the negative.

ATYES.—Messrs. George A. Aldrich, Samuel Ames, Robert Angel, Alfred Bosworth, Christopher Brown, Bowles Clever, Henry V. Cranston, James Eldred, Charles Fales, Benjamin Finch, Samuel H. Hopkins, William A. Howard, Allen C. Mathewson, Christopher G. Perry, Wm. P. Shefield, Jesse S. Tourelle, Thomas G. Turner, Joseph B. Weaver.—18.

NOES.—Messrs. George Aldrich, Henry Anthony, Joseph Anthony, Olney Arnold, Simeon Babcock, J. M. Barber, Tilmerick Barnes, Tully D. Bowen, Fenner Brown, G. H. Browne, Thomas Buffum, Thomas Davis, John Fenner, Anson Fiske, Joseph Gavit, Henry Gooding, Jabez Gorham, Samuel Gould, Robert Gray, Isaac Green, David S. Harris, Robert Harris, Edward H. Hazard, John Holden, S. Hutchins, Benedict Lapham, Jas. Pollard, Nathan Porter, Geo. S. Rathbone, John G. Reynolds, Mowry Ross, Albert Sinford, Isaac Saunders, Israel Sayles, W. Sheldon, Joseph S. Sisson, Pardon Spencer, Samuel Steene, Wilkins Updike, H. C. Wardwell, Elisha Watson.—41.

Fathers.—Messrs. George Aldrich, Henry Anthony, Joseph Anthony, Olney Arnold, Simeon Babcock, J. M. Barber, Tilmerick Barnes, Tully D. Bowen, Fenner Brown, G. H. Browne, Thomas Buffum, Thomas Davis, John Fenner, Anson Fiske, Joseph Gavit, Henry Gooding, Jabez Gorham, Samuel Gould, Robert Gray, Isaac Green, David S. Harris, Robert Harris, Edward H. Hazard, John Holden, S. Hutchins, Benedict Lapham, Jas. Pollard, Nathan Porter, Geo. S. Rathbone, John G. Reynolds, Mowry Ross, Albert Sinford, Isaac Saunders, Israel Sayles, W. Sheldon, Joseph S. Sisson, Pardon Spencer, Samuel Steene, Wilkins Updike, H. C. Wardwell, Elisha Watson.—41.

From persons who were present, I learn that Samuel Ames, a lawyer of this city, Henry V. Cranston, a lawyer of Newport, and Anson Bosworth, a lawyer also, of Bristol, opposed their being passed; the first two in set speeches. These men are leading Whigs in the State Legislature. Cranston was formerly member of Congress, one term. Thomas Davis inflicted a good speech upon the dough-faces. A motion was made by Ames to lay them on the table—Ayes 18, Nays 41. If carried, this vote would have been a rejection of them. The vote was then taken without a call of the House, and they were passed, and sent to the Senate Tuesday afternoon, 12th. They were referred to a Select Committee, of which Elihu R. Potter, the Rhode Island political magician, was chairman, who reported an entire new set, as follows:

Mr. E. R. Potter, from the Select Committee, to whom had been referred resolutions from the House on the subject of slavery, reported, recommending to strike out all after the word *Resolved*, and to substitute,

That they will sustain the right to hold property in man, by allowing slaveholders political power in proportion to the number of their slaves.

2. That they will never secede nor defend the runaway slaves from the pursuing masters.

3. That in case of insurrection among the slaves, they will defend the oppressor against the oppressed, the robber and rasher against their victims.

4. That they will never exert their political power to abolish slavery in the States.

5. That they will hold all the slaves responsible to their government, while they allow them no protection, either in their rights or persons.

6. That they will sanction and defend violations of the rights of property, liberty and life by slaveholders, which they will punish with the dungeon or death, when committed by non-slaveholders.

7. That they will regard as crimes worthy of death in slaves, what, in their owners, they honor and applaud as the highest virtue.

8. That while the testimony of the slave shall never be admitted against the master, they will give full credit to the testimony of the master against the slave.

9. That they will sanction, and help execute, every slave law in every slave State.

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H. C. WRIGHT.

[We are unable to find room, this week, for the correspondence between Father Mathew and Father Spratt, which our ever vigilant conductor has kindly forwarded to us. It shall be given in our next number; and if the letter of Father Mathew should fail to reach the testimony of the master against the slave.

2. That they will never secede nor defend the runaway slaves from the pursuing masters.

3. That in case of insurrection among the slaves, they will defend the oppressor against the oppressed, the robber and rasher against their victims.

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BRIDGEWATER.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

Last evening I had a meeting, at Bridgewater, much more alarming to tyrants, and hopeful to the slaves, than I have ever seen in that place. It is one of the most forbidding towns in New England;

wealthy, aristocratic, conservative; in high schools abundant, in churches and clergymen above measure, in corporations numerous, and having much of its wealth, by the craft of cotton-gin manufacturing for the blood-bedewed plantations in the Carolinas, and on the Mississippi.

But there were, last evening, many assurances of a new and better dispensation, already dawning. The meeting was well attended, and by the right class of people, too. I spoke until a late hour, and was heard with marked attention. My subject was, the reasons and results of the American Union, and the position of Massachusetts, chained to it, as a watch-dog to a nation, and not as a sovereign, equal member of it.

One man subscribed for the Liberator, and they raised two dollars for the use of the Town Hall, and five dollars for the treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and better yet, I was strongly urged to make the town another call, at my earliest opportunity—and that, too, by persons who never manifested much love for me or my doctrines before. So shall the last be first, and the first last.

Truly and fraternally yours,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

February 10, 1850.

See notice of Haverhill meeting, next Sunday.

RHODE ISLAND DOUGH-FACES.

FRIEND GARRISON :

Having inserted an article from me, with an editorial from the Providence Journal, in your last paper, dated Feb. 8, I again propose to give you some account of the proceedings of the Rhode Island Legislature. The readers of the article referred to above will recollect I expressed an opinion, that no action would be had in the Legislature on the subject of slavery. I was informed that a certain member had said that he would present such resolutions, if furnished him.

A set were sent him, similar to those before the Massachusetts Legislature, declaring in the preamble that slavery was a 'crime against humanity and a sin against God.' They were not presented, because other resolutions were presented before them got them, by Barbour, of Hopkinton. These resolutions were referred to a committee, who reported them,—and here they are,—and passed, after striking out the latter clause of the last one, viz.—to send a copy to the Governors of each of the States.

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States, having exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, and over the Territories belonging to this Republic, ought at once to adopt measures for the abolition of slavery and the slave traffic in said District, and within all Territories and places within its jurisdiction: and to prohibit its introduction into any Territory now free—the honor and interest of the South alike demanding such legislation.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to resist, by all and every constitutional means, the extension of Slavery, in any other, whether by the annexation of territory to the slaveholding State of Texas; by the organization of governments for any territory already acquired or hereafter to be acquired, without an express prohibition of Slavery in the act of such organization; or by the admission of the Union of a new State without a direct prohibition of Slavery in the Constitution of such State, or in the act of Congress providing such admission.

Resolved, That the present crisis demands the co-operation of every patriot and every good citizen, to resist and repel that treasonable spirit which threatens or aims at the dissolution of the bonds which unite the States of this Republic, such purposes being alike visionary and mischievous.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to furnish a copy of these Resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

It was moved that the Resolutions be laid on the table, and the ayes and nays called for: 18 voted in the affirmative, and 41 in the negative.

ATYES.—Messrs. George A. Aldrich, Samuel Ames, Robert Angel, Alfred Bosworth, Christopher Brown, Bowles Clever, Henry V. Cranston, James Eldred, Charles Fales, Benjamin Finch, Samuel H. Hopkins, William A. Howard, Allen C. Mathewson, Christopher G. Perry, Wm. P. Shefield, Jesse S. Tourelle, Thomas G. Turner, Joseph B. Weaver.—18.

NOES.—Messrs. George Aldrich, Henry Anthony, Joseph Anthony, Olney Arnold, Simeon Babcock, J. M. Barber, Tilmerick Barnes, Tully D. Bowen, Fenner Brown, G. H. Browne, Thomas Buffum, Thomas Davis, John Fenner, Anson Fiske, Joseph Gavit, Henry Gooding, Jabez Gorham, Samuel Gould, Robert Gray, Isaac Green, David S. Harris, Robert Harris, Edward H. Hazard, John Holden, S. Hutchins, Benedict Lapham, Jas. Pollard, Nathan Porter, Geo. S. Rathbone, John G. Reynolds, Mowry Ross, Albert Sinford, Isaac Saunders, Israel Sayles, W. Sheldon, Joseph S. Sisson, Pardon Spencer, Samuel Steene, Wilkins Updike, H. C. Wardwell, Elisha Watson.—41.

Fathers.—Messrs. George Aldrich, Henry Anthony, Joseph Anthony, Olney Arnold, Simeon Babcock, J. M. Barber, Tilmerick Barnes, Tully D. Bowen, Fenner Brown, G. H. Browne, Thomas Buffum, Thomas Davis, John Fenner, Anson Fiske, Joseph Gavit, Henry Gooding, Jabez Gorham, Samuel Gould, Robert Gray, Isaac Green, David S. Harris, Robert Harris, Edward H. Hazard, John Holden, S. Hutchins, Benedict Lapham, Jas. Pollard, Nathan Porter, Geo. S. Rathbone, John G. Reynolds, Mowry Ross, Albert Sinford, Isaac Saunders, Israel Sayles, W. Sheldon, Joseph S. Sisson, Pardon Spencer, Samuel Steene, Wilkins Updike, H. C. Wardwell, Elisha Watson.—41.

From persons who were present, I learn that Samuel Ames, a lawyer of this city, Henry V. Cranston, a lawyer of Newport, and Anson Bosworth, a lawyer also, of Bristol, opposed their being passed; the first two in set speeches. These men are leading Whigs in the State Legislature. Cranston was formerly member of Congress, one term. Thomas Davis inflicted a good speech upon the dough-faces. A motion was made by Ames to lay them on the table—Ayes 18, Nays 41. If carried, this vote would have been a rejection of them. The vote was then taken without a call of the House, and they were passed, and sent to the Senate Tuesday afternoon, 12th. They were referred to a Select Committee, of which Elihu R. Potter, the Rhode Island political magician, was chairman, who reported an entire new set, as follows:

Mr. E. R. Potter, from the Select Committee, to whom had been referred resolutions from the House on the subject of slavery, reported, recommending to strike out all after the word *Resolved*, and to substitute,

That they will sustain the right to hold property in man, by allowing slaveholders political power in proportion to the number of their slaves.

2. That they will never secede nor defend the runaway slaves from the pursuing masters.

3. That in case of insurrection among the slaves, they will defend the oppressor against the oppressed, the robber and rasher against their victims.

4. That they will never exert their political power to abolish slavery in



The Liberator.

LETTER FROM HIRAM WILSON.

DAWN MILLS, C. W., Feb. 12, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

THE PINE TREE—LINES FOR THE PRESENT CRISIS.
BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Lift again the stately emblem on the Bay State's trusted shield,

Give to Northern winds the Pine Tree on our banner's tattered field,

Sons of man who sat in council with their Bibles round the Board,

Answering England's royal missive with a firm "Thus saith the Lord!"

Rise again for home and freedom!—set the battle array!

What the fathers did of old time, we their sons must do to-day!

Tell us not of banks and tariffs—cease your paltry pedlar cries!

Shall the good State sink her honor, that your gambling stocks may rise?

Would ye barter man for cotton?—that your gains may be the same,

Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the flame?

Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?

Weighed against your lying ledgers, must our manhood kick the bear?

Oh, my God! for that free spirit which of old in Boston town

Smote the Province House with terror, struck the crest of Andros down!—

For another strong-voiced Adams in the city's streets to cry:

* Up for God and Massachusetts! Set your feet on Manmon's lie!

Perish banks and perish traffic—spit your cotton's last pound!—

But in Heaven's name keep your honor—keep the heart of the Bay State sound!'

Where's the man for Massachusetts?—where's the voice to speak her free?

Where's the hand to light up bonfires from her mountains to the sea?

Beats her Pilgrim pulse no longer? Sits she dumb in her despair?

Has she none to break the silence? Has she none to do and dare?

Oh, my God! for one right worthy to lift her rusted shield,

And to plant again the Pine Tree in her banner's tattered field!

TO SLAVEHOLDERS AND THEIR ALLIES.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Quench every free discussion light—

Clap on the legislative snuffers,

And caulk with 'resolutions' tight

The ghastly rents the Union suffers!

Let Church and State brand Abolition As heresy and rank sedition.

Choke down, at once, each breathing thing

That whispers of the Rights of Man;

Gag the free girl who dares to sing

Of freedom o'er her diary pan;

Dog the old farmer's steps about,

And hunt his cherished treason out.

Do more. Fill up your loathsome jails

With faithful men and women—act

The scaffold up in those green vales,

And let the verdant turf be wet

With blood of unresisting men—

Ay, do all this, and more—WHAT THEN?

Think ye, one heart of man or child

Will falter from its lofty faith,

At the mob's tumult, fierce and wild—

The prison-cell—the shameful death?

No!—nursed in storm and trial long,

The weakest of our band is strong.

Oh! while before us visions come

Of slave ships on Virginia's coast—

Of mothers in their children's home,

Like Rachel, sorrowing o'er the lost—

The slave-gang scourged upon its way—

The blood-hound and his human prey—

We cannot falter! Did we so,

The stones beneath would murmur out,

And all the winds that round us blow

Would whisper of our shame about:

No! let the tempest rock the land,

Our faith shall live—our truth shall stand.

True as the Vaudou hemmed around

With Papal fire and Roman steel—

Firm as the Christian hero's bound

Upon Domitian's torturing wheel,

We bade no breath—we curb no thought—

Come what may come, we falter not!

THE UNION—TO THE SOUTH.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Vainly shall your sand-wrought rope

Bind the starry cluster up,

Shattered over heaven's blue cope!

Give as bright though broken rays,

Rather than eternal haze,

Clouding o'er the full-orbed blaze.

Take your slavery-blackened vales;

Leave us but our own free gales,

Blowing on our thousand sails.

With your bondman's right arm bare,

With his heart of black despair,

Stand alone, if stand ye dare!

And when vengeance clouds your skies,

Hither shall ye turn your eyes,

As the lost on Paradise!

SLAVERY IN THE CAPITAL.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Still round our country's proudest hall

The trade in human flesh is driven,

And at each careless hammer-fall

A human heart is riven!

And this too, sanctioned by the men,

Vested with power to shield the right,

And throw each vile and robber den

Wide open to the light.

Yea, shame upon them!—there they sit,

Men of the North, subdued and still;

Meek, pliant tool-bots, only fit

To work a master's will.

Sold—bargained off for Southern votes—

A passive herd of Northern mules,

Just braying through their purchased throats,

Whate'er their own rules.

TO MASSACHUSETTS.

BY WHITTIER.

Still let the land be shaken

By a summons of thine own!

By all save truth forsaken,

Why, stand with that alone!

Shrink not from strife unequal!

With the best is always hope;

And ever, in the sequel,

God holds the right side up!

LETTER FROM JONATHAN WALKER.

MONTPELIER, Vt., Feb. 18, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

It is well known by many of the readers of the Liberator, that circumstances of unusual occurrence have caused my name to be freely used in connection with the anti-slavery enterprise, in by-gone times; but of late, circumstances have prevented me from being much before the public. The condition of myself and family has compelled me to remain with them a large part of the time for the last two years—but without any abatement, however, of sympathy for the slave or the anti-slavery cause.

Though others who have been warmly engaged heretofore in the cause, have seemed to find, or affect to find, an excuse for their indifference or coldness, (and there are many to justify themselves,) I cannot do so. At every opportunity, I endeavor to cast in my vote to help swell, if possible, the public indignation against the crime of crimes. Consequently, after making the best arrangements within my knowledge and power, I left my home in Plymouth, about the middle of December, to work in a new field in behalf of the down-trodden, outraged victims of American inhumanity and barbarity.

After being provided with a small assortment of anti-slavery and other reform books, and a horse to convey myself and them, I spent about three weeks in Dawn a mission school of forty or more scholars, taught by my wife and myself, who are generally making good proficiency; and a school of twenty scholars, two miles from us, taught by Miss Huntington, from Northern Ohio. Two of the young men under my care were recently from the house of bondage. One of these, who is largely imbued with Christian principle, and possessed of an easy, graceful manner as a speaker, would, I think, with but moderate advantage of education, make a sterling anti-slavery lecturer.

One of my wife's pupils, a young woman of a fine mind, so highly appreciates education, that she is in the habit of walking daily seven miles to and from school, and is reaping a rich reward for her pains. Another, a young woman of fine appearance and pleasing manners, but who is deaf and dumb, has received instruction from her in useful and ornamental needle-work, and been materially benefited. Some of her specimens would excite the admiration of the most accomplished ladies in New England for their elegance and beauty.

Our Sabbath Schools are well attended. We have also a numerous and interesting Bible class. I am

preaching to the people in this section of Canada, white and colored, an anti-slavery and anti-sectarian gospel. I am doing the best I can to disseminate intelligence, promote peace, temperance, moral purity, industry, economy, &c., with cheering results.

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